

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

with you: we will stay with you all the day and for the rest of our lives. By morning everyone will know what has transpired.' He took the bundle with the Crow Tassels and put it by his bed. 554 701

"He started out next morning from the tipi carrying the bundle. You never bury anything of which part is a feather. You return it to a tree and tie it there. Thus was ended Red Young Man's war career.

"Red Young Man never again went with a war party. He became a camp-moving peace chief; he confined himself to his home duties. When he took off his tassel and put on his war bonnet, he became the highest war chief. When visiting tribes came to call, everyone would hold their breath when Red Young Man counted coup. He was the pride of the band.

"As time went on, he finally married. He married his own niece, his sister's daughter. Though he was so very great and so important, he did not escape being slightly referred to as 'niece-wife.' The talk was that that wife had been loose before he married her, so he married her to make her behave. She was young and pretty. It was her first marriage and they had children. [582]

In this practice the social ideal was exaggerated to social negation. The Crow Tassel Men pursued the war goal with such singleness of mind and purpose that they were no longer of the larger society. Thus during the period of their calling they were of little significance in civil affairs. Yet when years of success without death, or the death of one of their membership, caused them to dissolve the band of special comradeship and warlike duty, they became leading men in the community by virtue of their prestige. 554

The Crazy Dogs and the Big Horse Owners were also limited groups among the Comanches. The Crazy Dogs arrived at their state by an intrinsic waywardness in personality. The Big Horse Owners chose their road as a way of life for much the same reasons as motivated the Crow Tassel Wearers.¹¹ "I might make many errors and fall down many times," said Black Horse on taking up the insignia of the Big Horse. "I shall take my father's road, and maybe I'll come out a somebody." 701

The Crazy Dogs were contraries. They did everything backwards. Tell them to bring water, and they would fetch fire. She Invites Her Relatives told of a widow who lamented her lot and her lack of a buffalo robe. A Crazy Dog heard her. He told the old woman to hold her peace; he would get her a robe. When he returned to camp he brought with him the skin of a flayed enemy. This he hung from a pole before the widow's door. Such men were a great nuisance. They urinated like dogs. Going about the camp they could 701 158

¹¹ It is difficult now to distinguish what traits belonged to the Contrary Men and what to the Big Horse Owners. Among them were a gourd rattle as insignia and a slit sash worn over the shoulder. In attack the sash was pegged to the ground, so that the wearer could not retreat unless released by another Comanche.

701 shoot an arrow into anybody's pot of meat, taking whatever piece stuck to
158 the shaft.

Parents warned boys who were constantly recalcitrant that they would become such. Most Crazy Dogs started out as wayward youths.

Such men carried on as Dogs until after the performance of some conspicuous act of bravery. After many years of Crazy Dog activity, their rattles were taken from them by a respectable middle-aged man (ténapa).

[555] "They had attained prestige and could leave off their antics." By their war records ex-Crazy Dogs were always men of importance in the tribe.

624 It is clear from these facts that the war bonnet and other special in-
554 signia served a definite social function in Comanche society: they marked the status of the war chief as distinct from that of the lesser war leader, and the special devotees of the war cult from the common warrior.

OBLIGATIONS OF THE WAR BONNET WEARER

554 The Comanche owner of a war bonnet was under obligation never to
726 retreat. This was the primary duty assumed with the status. The bonnet was a symbol of tribal integrity and honor to the Comanche, to be protected at all costs. The mere fact that the wearer could not retreat made him a rallying point for all other fighters when he was hard-pressed, for it was equally disgraceful for the bonnet to fall into the hands of the enemy should the wearer be wounded or killed. The war bonnet wearer, dismounted and hard-pressed, could indeed be rescued by a fellow tribesman who dared to risk dashing in to carry the brave off on his horse. This was the sole escape with honor. In one fierce three-day battle with the Utes, a Comanche war chief was so wounded in the leg that he was having difficulty. Another ténapiw mounted behind him and held him in his place on the horse while he fought off the enemy. The Utes forced the Comanches back and ever back over a battle-field sixty-five miles long. When, during the action, the wounded war chief died, he was tied to the saddle by his protector to avoid his being captured with his bonnet. During the entire fight his body and its protector were screened by a group of fighting braves.

558 On the other hand, it was the absolute duty of a ténapiw to help a dismounted comrade. Should he fail to do so, any other war chief who observed his disloyalty could publicly upbraid him with the act and take the war bonnet from him in punishment. The accuser was then free to offer it to some other warrior whom he thought deserved it.¹⁴ But this man was also free to refuse if he feared the obligations attached to it. This was said

¹⁴ Compare also the case cited on page 55, where a claimant to a piece of land (on the reservation) had the judgment go against him because he had one time failed to rescue a comrade.

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tion for the parents to make a munificent return gift, preferably with a horse, and for the child to give away the original gifts to less fortunate children. This child wore especially fine clothes, rarely had any work to do, was spoiled by everyone, could order his or her siblings and even parents around at will, was never forced into marriage, and was generally cock o' the walk. Such a child was usually the offspring of the father's favorite wife (a wealthy man nearly always had several wives), so that jealousy usually was present among the other wives too, and they would neglect and annoy the favorite child whenever they thought they could get away with it. However, if the child were a boy, he would fairly soon start going off on war-parties, while a girl, not having her marriage arranged for the convenience of the parents, would probably marry a man of some means and reputation, and move away also. It should be noted that favorite children never became *pu'ku'ci*?¹¹ according to our informants.

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Girls who were not favorites frequently had their marriages arranged for them by their fathers. While the girl was anxious to marry a glamorous warrior, the father preferred a poor but industrious man who would stay around the home and tend his stock for him, perhaps for two or three years or, with the inducement of additional daughters as rewards for good and continued service, almost indefinitely. A captive (especially a Mexican) made the most dependent, and hence reliable, son-in-law of all, though the lowered prestige of the resultant half-Comanche grandchildren was a deterrent to this practice.

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Adoption of children was fairly common, especially for boys into families without any; in this case, they might become "favorite children." Proper relationship terms for a son or daughter were applied; rigorous incest regulations did not hold with adopted children, but there was strong disapproval of marriage of adoptive siblings if they had been brought up together for a number of years. Close friends of sons might also be adopted when comparatively mature; marriage with them does not seem to have been so clearly outlawed though no cases are recorded. In connection with the early maturity and independence of boys, it is interesting to note that this type of adoption was considered to be solely a matter to be arranged between the boy and his prospective new family—his parents had no influence in the arrangements. There is some evidence that fairly immediate descendants of adopted children were, if possible, married to bona fide members of the family in order to get them more firmly grafted onto the family tree. While the fact that the child was not a blood relative was never forgotten, it appears that a person adopted into a family became practically as much a member of it as one born within it, and generally ceased using the old terms of relationship toward his original family,

¹¹ *pu'ku'ci*? were adults following institutionalized patterns of "silly" behavior. This behavior readily lends itself to at least superficial interpretation as an escape mechanism for maladjusted people. This term was also applied to "difficult" children, a separated usage, though of course related.

x • FOREWORD

121 doctor. Ethnographic materials and popular materials on the colorful Comanche raiders are available, but very little has been previously recorded on the institution of the Comanche traditional doctor.

123 Jones was able to obtain his excellent data as the adopted son of Sanapia. As he explains, this close association had disadvantages as well as advantages. It was assumed, for example, that as Sanapia's son, the author would automatically know many of the obvious aspects of the doctor's role. Furthermore, the role of "Young Son" carried with it a series of complex, reciprocal role relations.

128 The reader is given intimate details concerning Sanapia's training, which was lengthy and complex. After the final rituals involved in receiving the Power necessary for an Eagle doctor, Sanapia had to be passed on separately by four different instructors.

One unique chapter is devoted to the detailed preparation of herbal medicines and methods of administering them. The illnesses treated ranged from heart pain, pneumonia, and paralysis to exzema and loss of appetite.

158 Since Sanapia spent a great deal of time treating "ghost-sickness," the author explains the meaning of the concept and describes the symptoms and treatment. Jones analyzes the psychogenic roots of this disease, considered by the Comanche to be peculiar to the "Indian." The author believes the malady may be viewed as a conversion reaction related to unmanageable psychic stresses.

756 The author attributes Sanapia's success as an Eagle doctor to the fact that he was able to adapt quickly to the changes taking place in Comanche culture. 153 This process of adaptation was simplified for Sanapia as her own home environment had required that she adjust to three disparate religious systems—the Christianity of her father, the Peyotism of her uncle and paternal grandfather, and the Plains Indian pattern of vision quests, and guardian spirit represented by her mother, the Eagle doctor.

000 Upon completing the reading of the detailed study of Sanapia's training and role behaviors, the reader feels that he knows Sanapia more intimately than do her own peers.

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191 after all, a twelve-year-old Indian boy has only a twelve-year-old Indian boy's head.

763 My personal feeling is--and I believe anyone who lived around
158 the plains Indians at the turn of the century will agree--that the greatest miracle performed that afternoon was calling the Martny wives back from the hypnotic state of the death wail. This is a deliberate, self-induced mental condition; and when the women have been [304] in it for a sufficient time, they become impervious to pain. They slash their breasts, bodies, and legs; and if the state continues long enough--say into the third day--it is climaxed by their whittling off a finger with their butcher knife. Generally it is the forefinger of the left [147] hand. Women in this thralldom seem to have a high coagulatory content [165] in their blood. Evidence of women's bleeding to death from self-inflicted wounds, when in this hypnotic state, is nil.

[147] Possibly this blood property is a result of the women's heavy meat diet, or it may be a chemical change in the blood brought on by the severe hysterical state under which they are laboring. One thing old plainsmen are agreed on: Indian women are extremely dangerous when in the wail, and even their own menfolks give them a wide berth.

Because this state is deliberate and self-imposed, they resent being called back to normalcy. It is entered into to escape a sorrow--something they cannot face in their normal state. Perhaps their minds become as blank to sorrow as their bodies do to pain. In a way it is the kind of thinking a drinker uses, when he stultifies his senses with liquor to forget his inadequacy. Of this I am sure--I could never myself have the courage to call three wailing Comanche women back to sanity.

000 I think of three things happening that day that we can properly label phenomena. First is the dragging of this boy by a frantic horse, through the brush and timber of West Cache, for more than two hours, without the horse's ever once kicking or stepping directly on Albert's head or rib cage. The Bone-setter must have diagnosed these facts, and Dr. McLain must have overlooked them.

Phenomenon number two is a strange cowboy's riding through the country, chancing upon this isolated camp, and seeking food at that exact time. Number three is, of course, that this particular stray cowboy had the courage and willingness to take on a job shunned by a trained, educated doctor, and the skill to turn out a workmanlike job.